ESSAYES

UPON

SEVERAL SUBJECTS:

Not unworthy consideration in these times.

Communicated by LETTERS to private Friends, and at their request to the Publick.

——Si quid novisti rectius istis,
Candidus imperti.——

LONDON,

Printed by *Richard Cotes* for *Edward Husband*, at the *Golden Dragon* in *Fleetstreet*, 1651.

HARVARD COLLEGE LIBRARY
FROM THE LIBRARY
OF F. L. GAY
JUNE 1, 1916

ESSAY I.

THE Disputes concerning *Iurisdiction* in matters relating to the Church, have been so various, that they have much shaken the peace of the State; whilst many making it a great part of their *Religion* to contest for power, have almost altogether destroy'd the *power of Religion*. The strife amongst the Disciples of our Saviour [*Who should be the greatest*] seems not yet to be ended; and though we all professe our selves to be servants of that Master, whose kingdom is not of this world, yet those who in a more peculiar manner bear his cognizance, think it is not enough for them to reign with him hereafter, unlesse they may bee admitted to exercise some jurisdiction for him here below; the way to keep the government upon his shoulder is (as they suppose) to put it into their hands. Yet

ſince they ſeem to claim no power herein, but what they pretend to derive from Chriſt, who is confeſſed by all to bee the head of the Church, the trueſt ground we can take to cleer theſe Diſputes, will bee to examine the power which Chriſt attributeth ſolely to himſelf over his Church, and that wherein hee uſeth the Miniſtery of others, and how far the Magiſtrate is concerned therein.

The actions then which Chriſt exerciſeth ſolely and immediately over his Church, referre either to the beginning or end of his Kingly Office. To the beginning belongs his Legiſlative power, not only in the more plain promulgation of the Law, and the freeing of it from corrupt interpretations, but in the conſtitution of the Evangelicall Miniſtery and Sacraments, by the abolition of the Jewiſh rites. To the end relates that definitive Juriſdiction, whereby at the laſt day he ſhall condemne the wicked, and abſolve the godly, and ſo deliver up the Kingdome to his Father. Theſe Chriſt executeth only by himſelfe. Thoſe actions wherein he uſeth the Miniſtery of others, have relation (as I may ſo ſpeak) either to the *outward, or the inward man*; To the inward man, when by the power of his Spirit accompanying his Word, hee illuminates the underſtanding, &c. Hence it is, becauſe the work of Miniſters and others herein, is ſubſervient to the actions of God, who is the principall cauſe, or rather his work in and by them, the effect which belongs to the chiefe agent is ſometimes applyed to the inſtrument, and ſo they are ſaid to ſave men, to remit ſins, &c. The actions which relate to the outward man, conſiſt in the defending and protecting of his

Church

Church from Enemies and in the right ordering and ordaining of whatever may make for the better propagation and eſtabliſhment hereof.

And here begins the Diſpute concerning the Diſcipline Chriſt hath left for the government of his Church, and by whom it is to be adminiſtred. To omit the ſeverall conteſts hereabouts, ſo full of paſſion and intereſt, that if Gods love to his Church had not been greater to preſerve it, then the devills malice is, or can bee by theſe diviſions to deſtroy it, it had been long ſince torne in pieces, which yet remains but in a ſhattered condition. It will not be impertinent I conceive, after all theſe ſtirs, calmly to inquire, Whether Chriſt hath left ſuch a particular Diſcipline or form of Government, as his Church in all ages and places is to obſerve. I preſume the rather to propoſe this, becauſe the Scripture ſeems to ſpeak hereof in generall terms only, as, Let all things be done decently and in order: and that we find ſome offices, as that of Widows in the Apoſtles times, which I know none that plead for now: and other cuſtomes, as ſaying *Amen* in Prayer with an audible voice: teaching or propheſying with the head uncovered, the contrary whereof is practiſed by the Miniſters of the *French* Churches, with other things that might bee inſtanced in, which ſeem of Apoſtolical inſtitution, and yet the practiſe thereof continued not long in the Church. Beſides, the Reformed Churches differ herein much amongſt themſelves. Though the Church of *Geneva* holds, that Chriſt hath inſtituted four Orders for the government of his Church, Paſtors, Doctors, Elders and Deacons, yet they ſeem as the *French* Churches to con-

found the office of Elder and Deacon, amongſt whom, and the Churches of *Holland*, there is that difference in Diſcipline, that thoſe *French* Churches that are there, have their Conſiſtories and Synods apart. Whence we may inferre, there may be a unity in Doctrine, where there is not an uniformity in Diſciplines though the garment of Chriſt be without rent or ſeam, yet that of the Church may be of divers colours. And if wee ſhould admit that Chriſt hath left a freedome and latitude to his Church herein, which we muſt doe, or condemne all the Churches of God that have been hitherto, ſince they have in all ages differed herein more or leſſe. What needs all this adoe? Why doe not wee rather ſtrive to keep the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace, then indeavour an impoſſible uniformity of what we can never reaſonably expect. It will more concern us by a true faith to aſſure our ſelves that we are members of Chriſt, and conſequently a part of the true Church, then to bee intangled any longer in theſe Queſtions, wherein though moſt make ſuch peremptory diviſions, according to the intereſt they have eſpouſed, whoever ſeeks impartially to be reſolved, will find little ſatisfaction, but poſſibly conclude, that as to the rites, and moſt things relating to the outward government of the Church, God hath preſcribed no ſuch certain conſtitution, as many pretend, but hath left them to be ordered according to the rules of Chriſtian prudence and charity. And this appears to me moſt conſonant both to truth and reaſon: for as when God made choice of the *Iews* for his peculiar Church, he particularly preſcrib'd the rites and Government to be obſerved by them, fitted no doubt to the Genius and

nature

nature of that people, ſo now, that he hath diffuſed his Church over all nations, and that his worſhip, the ſhadows being took away, conſiſts only in Spirit and truth; the preſcribing of outward forms and diſcipline ſeems not ſo much to be the intent of the Goſpel, as thoſe that are moſt intereſſed therein, after they have made them matters only of their own cognizance, would put into our Creed. Sure I am, moſt Chriſtian States have underſtood it ſo, as will appear if we look upon the Hiſtories of the times paſt, or the conſtitutions of their government at preſent, who have ever looked upon the Church as contained in the State, and therefore have ordered all Eccleſiaſticall perſons and functions according to the Civill ſanctions. Where-ever then wee find the Word of God faithfully preached, and the Sacraments duly adminiſtred, wee need not doubt but Chriſt hath his Church, though we may imagine many defects otherwiſe in point of Diſcipline, which, whilſt wee amend whatever we know to be amiſſe in our ſelves, wee muſt leave to bee reformed by thoſe who have the power committed to them, and who they are is the next Enquiry.

The thirſt of Power and Government where it once takes is unquenchable, Ambition is a diſeaſe which is rather heightned then cured by Phyſick. What ſtronger preſervative can bee preſcribed againſt this poiſon, then the example of our Saviour in his life and doctrine? and yet what high towers of Pride hath hee that ſtiles himſelf his Vicar built upon this humble foundation? Let us then take heed, leſt by pretending to advance the Scepter of Chriſt, we put a Reed into his hand, and by

pleading

pleading for our own power ruine his. Since therefore the Church of God amongst us consists of Christian Magistrates, as well as Ministers and People; let us in the first place consider the Magistrates power and office; whose function, unlesse he fail of his duty, either as a Magistrate, or a Christian, must needs extend to the care and well ordering of all things whereby we may lead as well a godly as a peaceable life. By the law of nature we know the same man might bee, and often was both King and Priest, the office of Priesthood was still annexed to the Primogeniture in that most equal government of the Patriarchs over their families and descendents. And when by Gods positive law the Leviticall Priesthood was instituted, some reliques of the ancient custom still remained, the fathers of families were to slay the Paschall lamb, and any that was skilfull therein might circumcise; the gift of Propheſie, which might seem more peculiar to the Priesthood, was sometimes bestowed upon their Kings, and as often upon private persons as their Priests. And here it might be enquired, whether under the Gospel the office of Supream Magistracy, and a Pastorall charge might be performed by the same person: which though we should deny, would nothing prejudice our assertion, *Imperantis non est imperata facere, sed imperando jubere ut fiant.* Magistrates may well enough take care that Ministers perform their duty, and that all things relating to Religion be duly administred, without undertaking the particular functions themselves. Hence it is, that they are called, *Pastorum pastores, & custodes utriusque tabulæ.* Nor doth the lustre of Supream Authority ever appear more glorious

then

then when it ſhines forth in the due care and ordering of religious matters, which either are or ought to be chiefly regarded. The *Roman* Emperours accounted the office of *Pontifex Maximus* too great to be imparted to others, and the beſt of Chriſtian Princes have rather eſteemed it their duty, then any intruſion, to take cognizance of things pertaining to Religion. If ſome have been more remiſſe therein then others, their neglect cannot prejudice the right of thoſe that come after them. Thoſe then are too uncivill with their Superiours, that whilſt they make their own functions to paſſe for ſuch ſolemn and and ſacred things, afford them only a Civill title. What, not their office too of divine inſtitution? may not thoſe that are nurſing Fathers of the Church ſee that the children have bread? If the Biſhop of *Rome* under pretence only of being Chriſts Vicar hath aſſumed ſo much power in the Church, may not they that are truly his Vice-gerents, ſee that all things be adminiſtred according to his direction? And as their authority is divine becauſe they are Magiſtrates, ſo we muſt allow their Acts to be ſomething more then *Civil or profane* (as they are uſually ſtyled) if we have but ſo much charity as to take them for Chriſtians. All Rivers loſe their name when they come once to be emptied into the ſea, and whoever gives up his name unto Chriſt, muſt be content only to bear his image and ſuperſcription, his whole man and all his actions are, or ought to be then truly Chriſtian and holy. And as the Magiſtrate cannot ſay this or that hee may doe, as a Magiſtrate, but not as a Chriſtian, ſince the tie of his Religion being the higheſt, ſwallows up all other relations, and gives the denomination to all his

actions, ſo ought not any ingenuous man by ſuch poore ſhifts and diſtinctions, for the compaſſing of I know not what pretended authority, either teach the Magiſtrate to neglect his duty, or others to contemn his power. But is not the Magiſtrate within the Church, and doth not the Paſtors office extend to him, as well by the preaching of the Goſpel, as by the exerciſe of the power of the Keyes? 'Tis true, he is, but we muſt not then make the Church ſuch a thing, and afterwards give it that power as many doe, nor may the Paſtors by the exerciſing of their Miniſteriall function, thereby more pretend to advance their authority or office above his, then the Phyſitian by curing him as well as others, or the Chirurgeon, by lancing his wounds, or if need be, by cutting off ſome rotten member. Some object further, the inconveniences that would follow, if the Magiſtrates authority were thus far admitted, which yet by dividing the power, cannot but be far greater. And when all is ſaid, the ſeverall pretenders hereunto are Men, not Angells, from whom, as the Church may receive good, ſo it cannot be altogether ſecured from evill, becauſe they are neither infallible in their judgments, nor unbyaſſed in their affections. Nor ought the fitneſſe and ability which ſome pretend for the Miniſters managing of Church affairs deveſt the Magiſtrate of his right: 'tis fit, and 'twas a good wiſh of him, *ut ſapientes regnarent, aut regnantes ſaperent*, and yet wee muſt not expect, to have none States-men but Lawyers, or Kings but Philoſophers only. Neither may the difficulty or abſtruſneſſe to judg of points in Religion (as ſome would make us beleeve) dethrone the Magiſtrate from his office, or deterre him from

from his duty. Every Christian is a competent Judge of these, and ought to passe sentence upon the profoundest Doctor, in trying his most subtil reasonings by the touch-stone of Gods Word, as far at least as concerns himself. If *Paul* when he was questioned concerning the Resurrection of the dead, appealed to *Cæsars* Tribunall, before whom (he saies) he ought to be judged; how can we be so dis-ingenuous, as to refuse that to the Christian Magistrate, which the Apostle gives to a Heathen Emperour? And certainly if Magistrates would but consider, that Religion is the power of their Power, and that which ought to governe their Government, they would with *David* make Gods law, their study, that they might thence learn to be wiser then their Teachers, and so avoid the imputation of incapacity or ignorance to perform that which ought to be their chief Art. And if conscience move them not hereunto (mee thinks) Policy should; if we were strangers to our own times, other ages would tell us how dangerous it is for the Supream Magistrates to suffer the great things of Religion to passe out of their hands. *Sacerdotum ea sunt ingenia, ut ni pareant, territent, & multitudo vana Religione capta melius vatibus quam ducibus paret.* By this we may see, that the Magistrate is Gods Minister too for our good, as well in spirituall as temporall matters, and that as he ought to see all things duly observed and performed that God hath preseribed in his Word, so 'tis his right to determine and ordain whatever may make for the advancement of Religion in relation either to Offices or Persons, Civill or Sacred (as they are usually styled) in the administration of the whole policy or go-

vernment of Christs visible Church, within the circuit of his jurisdiction. The Ordinances of the Church of *Geneva*, where the ignorance of many in this point hath took sanctuary, will teach us thus much; for the Magistrates have stampt their authority upon them in these words, *Nous Syndiques, petit, et grand Conseil de Geneve, &c. apres avoir en de Pasteurs et Ministres de cette Eglise advis, conforme a la parole de Dieu, &c. avons ordonne et estabi de suivre en nostre ville et territoire la Police Ecclesiastique qui s' ensuit*. The whole constitution of their policy was from the Magistrate, all the Ministers had to doe in it, was to give their advice only; so likewise if any difference arise among the Ministers in matters of doctrin, or that they be scandalous in their lives, the last Appeal is made to the Magistrate, who hath reserved to himself the finall judgment and determination thereof. Their neighbours the *Swissers* are something more strict in the managing of their authority, even to the imposing upon their Ministers that respect to their Magistracy, that they are not so much as to take notice in the pulpit of any failings in the execution thereof, without acquainting them therewith first in private, as understanding wel enough the strange effects that such discourses may produce, no lesse to the vilifying of the Magistracy, then the Ministery too at last. If the Magistrates power then bee of this extent, we that are Christians can do no lesse then pray, as the Heathens did for their Emperour, *ut Deus ipsi intelligentem divini humanique juris mentem det*, and that God would enable him with all graces fitting so great a function, whose performing of the great duty God hath laid upon him herein, will more truly advance,

then

then leſſen the Miniſters office, which is next to be enquired into.

Hee that hath heaven for his throne, and the earth for his foot-ſtoole, is pleaſed to call the Church his Houſe, where for the better ordering of all things, he hath placed ſome as Stewards and Overſeers of the reſt. Not to ſpeak of thoſe who were endowed with more extraordinary gifts for the performance of their ſpirituall functions, as the Apoſtles, Prophets, Evangeliſts, thoſe we find frequently mentioned in Scripture, as the ordinary Diſpenſers of the myſteries of God, are ſometimes called Biſhops, ſometimes Elders, Paſtors, or Teachers, and theſe ſeem to import one and the ſame office or charge, otherwiſe I doe not rightly underſtand St. *Luke* in the 20 of the *Acts* 17. where St. *Paul* ſends from *Miletus*, to call thither the Elders of the Church of *Epheſus*, whom in the 28 *ver.* hee charges to take heed unto themſelves, and to all the flock, over which the holy Ghoſt hath made them Biſhops or Overſeers: nor yet St. *Paul*, *Tit.* 1. 5. where hee ſpeaks of leaving him in *Crete* to ordain Elders in every Church, and immediately infers, that a Biſhop (the ſame that before hee had called an Elder) muſt be blameleſſe, &c. the diſtinctions which were made in after times, and upon what grounds, are too large to bee mentioned here. In the Miniſters charge we may conſider,

1. The inſtitution of the office it ſelfe, and this derives only from Chriſt, from whom they receive their commiſſion.

2. The application of this office to a certain perſon, and this we uſually call Ordination, which after due ex-

mination both of life and doctrine, is wont to be performed with prayer and fasting by the Pastors themselves.

3. The designation or election of a person to a certain place; and this we find diversly managed in severall ages, according to the exigents of times & occasions, nor can there be any certain rule prescribed herein. Sometimes the Church it self claimed the right of electing their own Pastor, at other times the Pastors solely disposed of elections, and many times it so falls out, that to avoid popular confusion and faction, the Magistrate hath been constrained to assume this part only to himself, as it doth belong to him.

Lastly, to confirm the Minister in the exercise of his Pastorall cure, and to give all freedome and encouragement to the discharge thereof. Nor must that large commission which our Saviour hath given to the Dispensers of his Word and Sacraments, make them in the least manner to exceed their bounds. The Church cannot wel enjoy hers, unless *Cæsar* have his; all the power they can pretend to is for edification, not destruction, directive only and persuasive, no wayes coactive. If Christianity were to be inforced, what Armies would be sufficient to make the world beleeve in a crucified God, and a self-denying Religion? If this were not set upon mens minds by the power and demonstration of the Spirit, the demonstration of all other power would be to little effect. The power of the Keyes in binding and loosing so much insisted on, is no more then to declare, that heavens gates are open to the penitent, and shut to the obdurate, they cannot blesse those upon whom God will poure out his curses, nor curse those hee is pleased to

blesse,

bleſſe, they are Embaſſadors only for Chriſt, and have nothing to deliver but what hee is pleaſed to command. Nor muſt Excommunication, and the delivering up of men unto Satan, which hath made ſuch a terrible noiſe of late, make us to apprehend, that Miniſters are armed with thunder and lightning, or that they can command fire from heaven to deſtroy all thoſe they take for *Samaritans*. We care not many times what we ſay or do when we are a little angry, and that our own intereſt is concerned, otherwiſe we ſhould not look upon delivering men up to Satan for ſo ordinary a buſineſſe as many would make it. That which the Apoſtle did in this caſe ſeems to have had ſomething of the miracle in it, and ſo is underſtood by moſt of the Ancients, and many learned Moderns too; and being ſo, ought neither to bee made a rule or example. As for Excommunication, by whom, and how it is to be managed, would require a larger Diſcourſe then this occaſion wil permit. That part of it which conſiſts in the debarring of men from the aſſembly of the Saints, & participation of the Ordinances, hath nothing of force or coaction in it, thoſe that wil may contemn it, 'tis only a puniſhment to them that apprehend it ſo, and deſire to be reconciled, the concomitants or conſequence thereof, as depriving men of their civill intereſt, or liberty upon it, is meerly Politick. Nor is it conceived to bee of that neceſſity or uſe, but in ſome caſes it may and ought to be forborn. We may aſwell be too ſevere as too remiſs, and by pleading too much for the exactneſs of diſcipline endanger the doctrine of the Church. If by our meekneſs we cannot gain thoſe that are contraryminded, we ought with patience to endure them, & with fervency

cy to pray for them, till it ſhall pleaſe God either to reform or remove them. Which we ſhal the more eaſily be perſwaded to, if we conſider that many are ſaints in Gods Kalendar, that are not ſo in ours, many fall into enormous ſins, that are as angry with themſelves for it, as we can be, & whoſe vertues, though we obſerve nothing but their imperfections, doe much preponderate their vices, and it may be our graces too. What though the tares grow in Chriſts field, and impure veſſels be ſeen in his Temple, let us endeavour to make our ſelves as pure as ſilver refined, and to be as the wheat which hee will gather into his Garner. All things are pure to the pure, a pious conſcience is not polluted by the impiety of others, nor are the holy myſteries defiled, becauſe wicked men approach them with unwaſhen hands. Hee that eats and drinks unworthily, eats and drinks judgment to himſelf, not mee. Thus wee ſee the Paſtors office in all its parts is onely Miniſteriall, it contains nothing of Magiſteriall power or force, it governs only by ſerving, and commands by perſwading. All the Juriſdiction it can claim is in the hearts and ſpirits of men, by that Word which is powerfull and mighty through God for the breaking down of the ſtrong holds of ſin only, and for the bringing into captivity every proud and rebellious thought. And whilſt Miniſters ſhall make it their only duty to divide the Word aright, without ſeeking to divide the power any longer with the Magiſtrate, the people wil more eaſily learn their duty and reſpect to both, and that threefold cord of mutuall love betwixt the Chriſtian Magiſtrate, Miniſter and people will be better twiſted and a due Harmony amongſt all the parts and members both of Church and State ſweetly preſerved;

Which God Almighty grant! ESSAY

ESSAY II.

SIR,

SInce you are pleased to command my opinion concerning the lawfulnesse of entring into the present Engagement, and how far I have satisfied my self therein, I shall presume to impart to you my thoughts with all freedome. I must confesse I have endeavoured (as I doubt not you have done) the best I could to inform my self from what I could recover in print upon this subject, but what I have yet met with, seems to contain so much of prejudice and pre-engagement otherwise, that I am almost resolved to seek no further resolution thence, being loth in the least manner to subject my conscience to the passion or interest of others. And first I cannot but sadly reflect upon the condition of the times wherein we live, when the foundations are thus removed, who knows what he may righteously doe? But since God hath reserved us for these times, wee cannot do better then to inform our judgments, so as to prepare our minds to passe through them with the greatest content to our selves, and advantage to others that we can, and to take heed lest avoiding the plausible complyance of most in application to the present powers', let their commands be what they will, wee bee not too passionate on the other hand in foreslalling our judgments from that impartiall deliberate debate we ought to make within our

ſelves in things of ſuch conſequence. We are not in the place of God to diſpoſe of the events of affairs, and ſince things are fallen out ſo contrary to our expectation, and poſſibly endeavours too, wee ought to conſider rather what may concern us in this preſent juncture of affairs, then what may ſeem to be required of us as to former relations, which poſſibly upon due examination may ſeem expired. At the beginning of our troubles we know what appeals were made by King and Parliament, both to God and the People, and the ſword being laid hold on to decide the controverſie, many good men were at a ſtand what to doe, who certainly if they had been left to themſelves, being not convinced of the neceſſity the Parliament then had to defend themſelves by force, would have deſired (what many now doe) to have ſate ſtill, but the diſpute grew ſo high, that all of conſiderable intereſts were involved with the one party or the other, and the principles of government being divided amongſt themſelves (for ſo they appeared to all, unleſſe to ſuch as would have, or endeavoured to make the Monarchy abſolute) every man ſeemed let looſe to follow that ſide which he conceived to be moſt juſt. And when it was expected (the Kings party having loſt all their force, but little of their affections to maintain their cauſe) that an accommodation ſhould be made with the King, we know what was firſt attempted againſt the Army, who whether they might think their ſervice too great to bee requited by the Parliament, I know not; ſure I am, the Parliament then ſeemed more willing to be rid of their Benefactors, then to acknowledge the great benefit they had done them; and in a ſhort time the jealouſies grew

ſo.

ſo high, and the apprehenſions of the Army ſo ſtrong, that the end of their disbanding, was to bee the begining of their ruine, and with them (as they imagined) if not of the greateſt, yet of the beſt part of the Nation, and poſſibly of thoſe too who were the forwardeſt to effect it, that they reſolved to make uſe of that power God had put into their hands, and that the preſent neceſſity wherein they and their friends were involved, did call upon them to join themſelves with thoſe of the Parliament whom they accounted trueſt to their truſt, though the major part oppoſed them, that they might thereby hinder the conjunction intended with the King, & conſequently with his party, which was laid hold on by many, in hope thereby to make way for their own honour and preferment, and the ruin of the Army and their Abetters. This conſideration ſeemed then ſo important, that to preſerve the form and being of the Commonwealth, there was need of ſtronger phyſick then the uſuall formalities obſerved in other caſes would admit, and that if the Elements did change their place to avoid vacuity, which would cauſe a deſtruction in nature, they thought the Laws of civill affairs might admit of ſome diſpenſation; and though the attempting what they did, might ſeem to croſſe ſome particular conſtitutions, yet 'twas hoped it would bee lookt upon by all indifferent wiſe men as correſponding to the generall and ultimate end of all formsand conſtitutions of Policy and government, the preſervation of Juſtice, and good men that ſhould be protected thereby. And looking upon the King as having forfeited all his intereſt by his carrying on the War to the utmoſt of his power, in his continued

application to thoſe perſons and counſells which have been ſo deſtructive to the Nation, and that he was ſo far from giving any ſatisfaction to God or them for thoſe Rivers of blood which had overflowed the three Kingdomes, (which muſt either be put upon His, or the Parliaments account) that they could not perceive any reaſonable ſecurity for the future, but that the reſtoring of him to his power, would be the reducing of the Nation to its former or worſe miſeries, they thought it juſt having him in their power to proceed againſt him as they did, and to exclude his poſterity for that forfeiture he had made: And becauſe neither they nor others could ſubſiſt, or hope to bee protected in their lives and properties, without the benefit of the Laws, and an eſtabliſhed government ſubmitted unto by all that hope for protection thereby, they declare for ſuch a conſtitution as they conceive the times moſt capable of. I cannot but admire the providence of God in the whole progreſſe of our affairs, in croſſing the deſigns and expectation of the moſt wiſe and Politick, and though we are told that miracles are ceaſed, yet ſure he does wonders every day. No doubt but the courſes that have been took to avoid ruin and deſtruction, ſeemed the only way to incur it to thoſe that thought themſelves the quickeſt ſighted in State affairs both at home and abroad. The oppoſition was not ſmall which was threatned here at home, but the difficulties that were to be encountred with in *Ireland*, and in all probability in *Scotland*, ſeemed inſuperable, though other Nations would be perſwaded to look on, which yet in reaſon could not be expected. And to ſpeak truly, I ſhould rather deſire to ſpend my thoughts in

contem.

contemplation of those great changes God hath wrought amongst us, and in the acknowledgment of his great mercies that we are not consumed by them, then adventure to justifie all that hath been done in order thereunto; however, I am not to condemn all that I cannot justifie, nor dare I presume to intrude upon the censure of those things that are above my sphere. If I had contributed my endeavours to this great change God hath wrought amongst us, I would produce my reasons for my acting therein, but seeing it hath been carryed on by others, notwithstanding all the opposition to the contrary hitherto; I had rather calmly debate with my self, how I might conscientiously enter into the Engagement, then by my own frowardnes give occasion to others to destroy me. Not to insist therefore upon that which some object, *viz.* former Oathes and Engagements, wherein they seem not so serious as they ought to be in such pretences, the interest of those they alledge them for, requiring more of the hand then tongue at this time, since their power and Kingdome is of this world, those that would be thought to be so much their servants, ought now, if ever, in all likelyhood to fight for them; that which you seem most to desire is, that you might be forbore for being called upon to act with the present power (which you conceive the Engagement implyes) though you seem to promise to act nothing against it. It were to bee wisht that all acts of policy were so tempered with piety, that they might command obedience from good men rather by their equity then penalty, and that the necessity of this change might appear so evident, and the equality and justice of the go-

vernment ſuch, that there might bee no place left for gainſaying. But we ſeem to be faln ſo far into the dregs of vice, that we are not capable of the beſt conſtitution; we muſt not expect to be governed by angells in this world, though we were better men then we are. What if things be not ſo well as we could wiſh, wee cannot make them better by doing nothing, it may be they had been worſe if moſt had had their deſires. If the *prima mobilia* of government be ſo violently whirl'd about, the inferiour orbs can have little reſt. Nor can we expect, unleſſe we prepare to live in ſome hermitage, but as we are ſharers in the Publique intereſt leſſe or more, ſo to act likewiſe ſome part therein. Thoſe that are poſſeſt of the power will tell us, that if we are not for them we are, or intend to be againſt them, and wee are able to tell our ſelves, that we cannot be Members of any civill aſſociation, but wee muſt needs acknowledge a head. If wee judg the power that is now claimed by thoſe that are over us to be uſurped and unjuſt, why doe not we endeavour to re-inſtate thoſe we conceive to be the right owners? but if that be beyond our power, ſure no one can judg himſelf obliged to an impoſſibility, nor can any one think thoſe ſubjects diſloyall, who having made all poſſible reſiſtance, yeeld at laſt to the ſtronger. That power ſeems to be ceaſed, and conſequently all Engagements to it, that hath no ability to protect thoſe it claimes alleagiance from, nor they any means left to defend it, they are the powers in being we are commanded to obey. Nor doe thoſe that doe the moſt willingly comply with the preſent power alledge any thing more rationally for their engagement to it, then their protection by it. I have not

time

time ſtrictly to examin what the more angry ſort of men object againſt the matter of the Engagement, their chiefeſt ſtrength ſeems to lie in this, that they ſuppoſe the acquiſition thereof to be unjuſt, and conſequently they that engage to it own that injuſtice, and are guilty of the wrongs thereby done to others. If that before hinted be not ſufficient to anſwer this objection, let us conſider, that upon this ground it will bee hard to ſubmit to any power whatever, ſince ſeldome any enter into power but by the diſpoſſeſſing of others, and the loſers wil ſtil have ſome cauſe to complain. Beſides, we are not competent Judges herein, nor are there any Courts erected to try ſuch titles; if wee have a mind to diſpute this, it muſt be rather with arms then arguments, wee can expect to receive no other anſwer to ſuch objections, then to bee made ſenſible they doe not bear the ſword in vain. 'Tis the exerciſe of the government, not the title of the Governors, that moſt concerns us that are Subjects, they are to anſwer this to a higher power, not to thoſe that are below them. Briefly, though the Government bee not ſuch as we could deſire, or as we have promiſed to make it; yet ſince the Kingdoms of the earth are the Lords, and he giveth them to whom he pleaſeth, and that our vows or Engagements cannot preſcribe to the Almighties providence, let us ſubmit to his over-ruling hand; and unleſſe wee deſire to live alone in the world, or in continuall war, reſolve that we muſt acknowledg ſome power, from which upon our alleagiance wee may expect protection, wherein the end and eſſence of all government ſeems to conſiſt. I am afraid leſt I have given you more trouble then ſatisfaction by this Diſcourſe, which

yet

yet I hope you will favourably interpret, the rather because my particular obligations to you have put me upon this taske, and that my private condition hath hitherto suffered mee to remain more dis-ingaged then you can be, however I have endeavoured to inform my selfe the best I could, that I might either upon just grounds altogether decline the Engagement, or when I should bee called upon, as freely take it, as I now subscribe my self

Decemb. 5.
1649. *Your*

ESSAY

ESSAY III.

SIR,

IF theſe times abounded as much in acts of piety, as they doe in diſcourſe of Religion, if the Reformation which hath dwelt ſo long in mens mouths, had but ſunk into their hearts, and appeared in their lives, we ſhould then truly feel that happineſſe, which wee have but for the moſt part all this while fancied, and quitting the cloud embrace that Goddeſſe, whoſe native beauty cannot but raviſh, ſince ſo many have been enamour'd with her picture only. Holineſſe is ſo attractive that her very Enemies deſire to ſhrowd themſelves under her wings, and to cōver the ulcers of their vicious lives with her garment. The Scribes & Phariſees loved to ſit in *Moſes* chair, and Machiavilians think they never put off their Politicks better then in Chriſts School; if they can but counterfeit *Iacobs* voice, they hope to paſſe well enough with *Eſaus* hands. Hence it is that may have made Religion a temporall intereſt only, and under the ſpecious title of godlineſſe drive on thoſe wicked deſignes which might make a modeſt heathen to bluſh, giving us in ſtead of the real demonſtrations of true piety, outward formes only, or elſe a company of packt words and canting language, more becoming a charm then true devotion. That wee may not therefore either deceive our ſelves or others, or think we come to act our parts in this world

as Mountebanks upon a ſtage, where the moſt mimicall bablers paſſe for the moſt ſufficient men: we muſt know that Religion is not a common place of terms and notions, it dwells not in the clouds of aiery fancy, and ſublime ſpeculations. If it ſwim only in the head, without taking root in the heart, it may ſend forth leaves, but it bears no fruit, or if any, like thoſe apples which were fair to look upon, but being toucht, fell to powder. The life of holineſſe is moſt conſpicuous in the holineſſe of mens lives. No ſooner does Gods Spirit move upon our ſouls, but we bring forth abundantly all good works. The leaſt ſparkle of divine light that kindles in our minds, burnes as well as ſhines; if it doe not warm our affections as well as enlighten our notions, we may juſtly ſuſpect it is ſome *ignis fatuus*, no ray that is darted from the *Sun of righteouſneſſe, or the Father of lights*. An irreligious holineſſe will profit us nothing, they are really wicked that are but vertuous in words and ſhew only. It will not therefore be impertinent briefly to conſider the influence that Religion ought to have upon all our actions, and how we may rather live, then talk devoutly.

Religion then, if it bee true, as it beleeves all that God reveals, ſo it obeys in all that he commands [his commandements are exceeding broad, and we ſhall not bee aſhamed, when we have reſpect unto them all]. There is a concatenation of vertues and graces as well in Divinity as Morality, hee that pretends but to ſome few of them has none at all. The two Tables make but one law, and though they be firſt and ſecond in regard of the object of which they treat, the worſhip of God, and love of our Neighbour, yet they ought to be one and the ſame in

our

our obſervation. Nor muſt we think that this Law publiſhed on Mount *Sinai* is any other then the Law of Nature, which the Scripture calls the Law written in our hearts, and which every one might read, were not the characters ſo defac'd by ſin and corruption. This, as it is moſt agreeable to right reaſon, ſo we find lively impreſſions thereof in many actions of the Heathens, which, becauſe they ſeemed to fail, either in the principle which ſet them awork, or in the end which they aimed at, ſome paſſe over only with the title of *ſplendida peccata*, but how rightly, I intend not here to examine. Sure I am, this is the divine unalterable law which Chriſt came to fulfil, & which by the finger of his Spirit he writes afreſh in the hearts of all thoſe that belong to him. The Goſpel it ſelf is nothing but this law illuſtrated, and this law nothing elſe but the Goſpel obſcured. The Religion of the *Iews* was the ſame with that of *Adam*, *Noah*, & the other Patriarchs, and ours with both, the difference only this, that we enjoy a cleerer light of that day which *Abraham* rejoiced ſo much to ſee; the various rites and ceremonies with the different manner of Gods manifeſtation of himſelf to us and them, though it may ſeem to argue a difference of Religion to thoſe, whoſe Religion is nothing but faſhion and ceremony, or a form of words, it cannot to any, who ſhall conſider that Chriſt was the lamb ſlain from the beginning of the world, (by faith in whom they are ſaved as well as we) and that the ſame law was a rule to all, and muſt be unto the end of the world. And this as it is ſometimes called the Law of Nature, ſo more uſually with us the Morall Law, becauſe it is the rule of our actions and manners, and that part thereof which

teacheth us the duties we owe each to other, goes moſtly under the name of *univerſall juſtice*, a vertue ſo comprehenſive, that it includes all the reſt, ſo diffuſive, that it extends to all the actions that concern either our ſelves or others. And though many ſelf-ſeekers pleaſe themſelves only with the name of godly, as if it were a ſilly and dangerous thing to be juſt withall; yet we ſhal find at laſt, if juſtice be wanting, our fained godlineſſe will ſtand us in little ſtead, though it may gain us applauſe with men, it will but adde to our further condemnation with God. The greateſt Saints have been moſtly by themſelves, and too often by others accounted the greateſt ſinners. Since thoſe that are wicked are loth to give to good men the title of godly, they muſt be careful how they attribute it too much to themſelves, leſt they bee conceived to have ſomething of the Phariſee. Humility is the trueſt character of a Chriſtian, it contends not about words, nor is ambitious of great names. Though it bee all one to be juſt as holy, yet we find the Juſt-man more often mentioned in ſcripture then the godly, to ſhew us that 'tis but a vain pretence to be pious unto God, unleſſe wee bee juſt unto all. And ſince Juſtice is that vertue, whereby wee render unto every one what belongs to him, let us conſider all the relations wee have, whether private or publick, all the duties we owe to our Superiours, Equalls or Inferiours. And if wee acquit our ſelves herein as good and juſt men, wee ſhall thereby more truly advance the work of Reformation, and adde a greater luſtre to Religion, then by all the devices that either ignorant, or Politick hypocriticall men have invented hitherto, which that wee may all performe is, and ever ſhall be the earneſt prayer of

SIR Your—— ES-

ESSAY IV.

SIR,

MAny ſad complaints there are abroad in the world of the diſeaſes both of our Church and State, and though both have lain a long time almoſt bed-rid, yet it hath been their fate hitherto to meet oftner with Empericks then Phyſitians, with ſuch who underſtand better to gain advantage by their diſtempers, then honour by a ſeaſonable and skilfull cure. This ſeems to invite every one to contribute as well the beſt of their thoughts as prayers to find out ſome means (if poſſible) for a recovery; and though our diſeaſe bee like a Hectique feaver (eaſie at firſt to be cured, though hard to be found out, but afterwards more eaſily diſcerned, then remedyed) yet ſure there is a balſame for every wound, which though we cannot alwaies be ſo happy as to recover, we muſt endeavour at leaſt to attain, unleſſe we have a mind to periſh as well by our own folly as weakneſſe. To omit the ſeverall oppreſſions in civill and ſacred things, which ſeem to have occaſioned our troubles at firſt, together with the cauſeleſſe complaint of the preſent burdens, which no one can rationally expect to bee removed, till our own diſtempers, and the implacable Enemies of this State both at home and abroad bee better quieted, there is nothing at preſent which ſeems more worthy of the ſerious conſideration of all that are truly pious and

diſcreet,

diſcreet, then to find out ſome effectuall means how to unite the ſeverall factions in matter of Religion at home, and then how to ſecure our Religion from thoſe that would deſtroy it from abroad.

Every natural body deſires as much its unity as entity. Shee was the true Mother of the Child that would not have it divided. We depart as much in effect from Chriſt and his doctrine, as we ſeparate each from other. Thoſe Members that have not a communion amongſt themſelves, have no union at all with the head. Since therefore all diviſion in matters of Religion is very irreligious, it will concern us, as much as our ſouls are worth, which we may as well loſe for want of charity as faith, to endeavour the making up of theſe breaches, which might poſſibly be effected, if ſetting aſide matters of leſſe moment and circumſtance, we would intend thoſe things that are really fundamentall, and eſſentially required of every Chriſtian; which as they are few, ſo are they cleer and obvious to all that deſire to know the truth. Thoſe things which are neceſſary to eternall life as well as our temporall livelyhood, are neer at hand, if wee delight only in curioſities they will coſt us deerer. 'Twas well ſaid of one, that he *liked the world as God made it, but not as man have made it*: If wee behold Religion in that native ſimplicity and beauty wherewith God hath attired her, we cannot but fall in love with her, but if wee look upon the dreſſe which the paſſions and intereſts of men have put upon her, all her comlineſs is gone, we ſhal then have much adoe to know her face through the painting, and be forced to acknowledge her ſelf to be the leaſt part of that which ſhe ſeems to be. How many doe ſtill take

the

the gliſtering ſhews of humane inventions for true piety, and cry up the *Idea's* of their own brain *for patterns in the Mount*. And it were well if they might paſſe for ſuch with themſelves only, and that they would not be angry with others, who have not ſo eaſy a faith, as to take all for Goſpel that they fancy. It hath been a great policy in the Church of *Rome*, firſt to invent what might make for their temporall intereſt, and afterwards to ſet their Doctors a work how to make it a part of their Creed: it were well if we had kept a great diſtance from *Rome* in this, as we pretend to do in other things, and that we had not endeavoured more to ſerve our ſelves then God in many late undertakings for Reformation. We pray daily that Gods kingdom may come, but in ſtead of that dominion and Empire he ought to exerciſe in our hearts and lives, we erect other thrones, and endeavour to make his ſcepter rather externally politick, then inwardly powerfull. If we would then have Chriſt to reign, and the government to be rightly ſetled on his ſhoulder, let us at laſt ingenuouſly confeſſe what we cannot conſcientiouſly conceal, That the Kingdom of God is only righteouſneſs, and peace, and joy in the Holy Ghoſt; it conſiſts in the inward man of the heart, in the ſubduing of our corruptions, and the conforming of our lives to that humility and ſelf-deniall that ſhines in the life and doctrine of our Saviour. The externall rites and diſcipline ſo much inſiſted upon, are rather the garments then either body or ſoul (any eſſentiall part) of Religion, which upon diligent enquiry we ſhall find in all ages to be ſhaped according to the infancy and growth of ſeverall Churches, and ſtill conforming leſs or more to the civill conſtitutions.

ons. And this being once acknowledged, as it needs must bee by all, who love the truth in sincerity, and that have not pawn'd their wits and conscience to maintain some by-interest; what hinders but that this envious wall of Partition being broken down, all that take Christ for their head, may unite together as members of the same body, and pursue the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace? Let the *Machiavilians* of this world study how to divide and reign, Christians ought to practise how they may unite and obey, the discipline of mutuall love will more advance their cause, then all the love they have hitherto shewed for Discipline. And this being once concluded, the next taske will be calmly to debate and agree amongst our selves what the fundamentals of Religion are, which might be broght sure into a narrow compasse, and so cleerly expresst that all might understand them. *Certa semper sunt in paucis, & quicquid ad salutem Christianorum necessarium est, quicquid nos meliores beatioresque facit, in aperto ponitur.* And these being assented unto, Why should we too curiously search after those things which we may more safely bee ignorant of? Why should wee bee angry with all those, who though they agree with us in the principles, differ sometimes in the conclusions and superstructures? All have not the same means or measure of understanding. Some mens errors accompanyed with meeknesse of Spirit, deserve a better censure then the truth which others utter in proud and contemptuous language. At least let us avoid all names of faction, especially that odious name of Heretick, which seems to declare an open war to those wee fixe that brand upon, and alarums all their force to re-

tort

tort that dart upon the face of those that first cast it. This pursuing the truth in love, we shall more easily convince the gainsayers, then by all the anathema's and fulminations that are usually darted out upon them; and if we cannot be so happy as hereby to convince the Papists, and other declared enemies of our Church and State, we shall at least by this our union prevent their designes, and obtain that peace which we have so long expected, and is most earnestly desired by

SIR,

Your

E ESSAY

ESSAY V.

SIR,

IT is no unusuall thing for those to complain of the times, of whom the times have most just occasion to complain. We cry out against those distempers which wee our selves have caus'd, and doe much wonder that the times are so bad, when we see men daily grow worse. If this present age had brought forth no new monsters of iniquity (of which it is too frutfull) the acting over anew the transgressions of the former (though under better names but many times in a worse manner) might justly cause us to apprehend, that the dregs of that cup of vengeance, which hath already been poured out upon us, are yet behind. Amongst other symptoms of future calamity, there is none seems to pretend more disaster, then that emulation and hatred which yet reigns amongst all parties, whilst many account their private envy part of the publick good, and think they never prosecute Gods cause better, then when they persecute each other. So full are most of themselves, that they are empty of all charity to others, and think they never approach God neerer, then when they keep their Brethren at the greatest distance. Many are like him that would measure all his guests by himself, and if they exceeded in stature, would cut them shorter, if they were lesse, would stretch them upon the Tenters. We are no lesse tyranni-

call

call to mens opinions then he was to their persons, wee arreign them all at the bar of our own judgments, and passe a finall condemnation upon them, according to the bare verdict of our own fancies. Al is *terra incognita* that lies beyond the line of our discovery, and whoever lives not in all points as we doe, must bee accounted no lesse then a *Barbarian*. If others vertues seem to outshine ours, we endeavour by all means to obscure them, and if their candle burns dimmer, wee are not content till wee have quite put out their light. What the Heathens were wont to say heretofore of the Christians, *See how they love each other*! most that passe for Christians may now more truly say of many of the Heathens in comparison of themselves, How sweet is revenge to some mens taste! how ingenuously wicked are they! appearing then *well-affected*, even when they are most malicious, and thinking their particular condition too mean to repay their private grudges, adventure to put them upon the publike score. The diseases of this kind that reign among us, wee may rather suspect to have been caused, then ever hope to bee cured by the receipts of *Machiavel*; his *Divide & impera* (as if the Kingdoms of this world were to be maintained as the Devill doth his, by strife and division) seems to weigh more in our practise, then that of our Lord and Master (which he makes the badge of his Disciples) to *love one another*. If we desire then truly to approve our selves to be Christians (and we should be very angry at any that would censure us for other) let us deveſt our selves of malice and detraction, and put on the garment of charity, which will cover the nakednesse of our former actions, and make us comely in the eys of God and man.

What can we ſee in our ſelves, that we ſhould ſo much admire, or in others, that we ſhould ſo much blame? the beſt of men, if we look upon the worſt of their actions, will appear ſomething monſtruous, and the worſt of men for ought we know are not ſo bad, but they are ſtil capable of Gods grace, and may be better by our loving aſſiſtance. Where the Spirit of God reigns, there is love and peace, he deſcends in the ſhape of the Dove, not of the Vulture, and where his grace dwells, it is moſt diffuſive, if it be not like that ſtone which converts all to gold, we may be aſſured nothing ſhal bee defiled by its touch. True Religion makes men more charitable, not more cenſorious, it confines not the free grace of God to any particular perſons or factions, nor endeavours to impale that Spirit in any one orbe or circuit, that blowes where it liſteth. If we are commanded to love our enemies, I know not any that we are permitted to hate. And certainly love is the moſt noble revenge we can take even of our enemies. By retaliation of wrongs we can but be their equalls, in this we are ſtil their ſuperiours, and may hope not only to conquer, but to indear them to us at laſt. Nor is there any way ſo ſafe as this, we have the ſecurity of heaven engaged for our protection, and if we can but bring our ſpirits to this temper, may bee aſſured that Gods angels wil pitch their tents about us. And thus paſſing an Act of oblivion in our own breſts for all the injuries we have received from others, and overcoming of evil with good, we ſhall make both our ſelves and others much better, and with our own peace procure (at leaſt as much as in us lies) the generall peace of the nation, the eſtabliſhment whereof he moſt zealouſly affects, that is

Sir, *Your*——

ESSAY VI.

SIR,

IF custome did not pass for a law, the lawes against many abused customes would more easily passe. Those errors which can plead prescription are hardly reformed, nor must we think a short time sufficient to remove the vices which have continued for many ages. I doe not so much wonder at those who contend for the observation of *Christmasse* (as we commonly call it) and other usuall Festivalls) as at their quickneſſe that would blow them away with one breath. Nature never introduceth the form, but shee first prepares the matter. If the minds of men were sufficiently molded for better impressions, it would bee more easy to take away the old leaven, but wee must expect to have that done by degrees, when it shall please God by the gentle breathings of his Spirit to blow away that animosity and bitternesse which yet reigns in mens minds. When the *Athenian* Law-giver was asked whether hee had given them the best laws, hee answered, the best of those they were capable of. And it was objected to *Cato* himself, that he did many times more hurt then good by speaking in the Senate, as if he had been rather in an imaginary Platonick common-wealth, then such a corrupt vicious one, as theirs then was. Hee is the best Artist that applies his work to the matter, not hee that pretends to make the most curious statues of the crookedest timber. The

crookednesse of mens minds in this age is such, that hee must bee a God that would bring in an universall Reformation all at once. It will be then requisite to consider the temper of the people, and what they are susceptible of, as wellas the nature of that we desire to introduce or take away. There hath been enough (if not too much) already hinted concerning the former: as to the latter, wee shall find the civil as well as the religious part (if I may so speak) of these Festivalls much insisted on. The first is a strong advocate for the second, the entertainments and recreations wherewith they are usually accompanyed, have made them more gracious; and wee need not wonder since so many make their gain to bee godlinesse, if some would have their pleasure also to pass for such. The best way to convince those of the errors of their judgment, that plead so strictly for the observation of these Holy times (as they are pleased to call them) were to find out some means how to reform the errors of their lives; but that being so difficult, where men generally are faln into the dregs of vice, let us briefly consider what is commonly said for the religious part of them. And here the long continuance of some of them at least, amongst Christians of all ages, is much pleaded for, and the famous contests about their punctuall observation (especially that of *Easter*, between the *Eastern* and *Western* Churches) not a little insisted on. What was judged lawfull for the Christians of those times, they conceive ought not to bee condemned as superstitious now; and the many abuses that later times have brought upon them, which were not of the originall institution, might (as they suppose) more easily be removed, then

the

the thing it ſelf utterly, and at once aboliſhed. There was the Freewill offering, as well as the Daily ſacrifice in the Temple; and they preſume there may bee a liberty for Chriſtians, to ſet apart ſome dayes for a more particular memoriall of Chriſts Incarnation, &c. though there bee no expreſs command for it in ſcripture, if there bee none againſt it. They inſtance further, that they are ſo farre from attributing any ſanctity to theſe times as ſuch, that they think no day amongſt Chriſtians ought to bee accounted holy of it ſelf, otherwiſe then in relation to thoſe exerciſes of piety that are performed therein. And they much wonder (which is not ſleightly to be paſt over) that all obſervation of theſe times is ſtrictly forbidden as ſuperſtitious, when a kind of Judaicall obſervation of the Sabbath ſeems to be enjoined as ſanctimonious. It would be tedious to repeat what may be ſaid in theſe conteſts, if we deſire our own or others ſatisfaction herein, let us be carefull how we impoſe a neceſſity, where God hath left us in an indifferency. The Apoſtle tells us, *That he that regards a day, regards it unto the Lord, and hee that regards not a day unto the Lord he doth not regard it*, and why we ſhould be more ſevere then he, I know not. If we look upon the obſervation of dayes as part of the Ceremoniall law, which is now aboliſhed, why doe we attribute a ſanctity to the Lords day more then to any other, further then as it is deſigned for our meeting together to hear Gods Word, and perform other acts of devotion? If we underſtood rightly the body and ſubſtance of our Religion, which is Chriſt, wee ſhould not dwell any longer in theſe ſhadows, nor would wee neglect the greater things of the law, which are Juſtice and

Judge-

Judgement, whilst wee spend so much time about ry-thing of Mint and Cummin, in pursuance of small matters, which would follow of themselves, if we could once be so happy as rightly to establish things of moment. I shall trouble you no further at present, but only to crave pardon for intrenching too much on your time, in presenting you with this sleight Discourse of the times, ever remaining

SIR,

Your ——

FINIS.